The Alla Upanishad, a spurious chapter of the Atharva Veda—text, translation, and notes.—By Ba'bu Ra'jendrala'la Mitra.

## [Read 5th July, 1871.]

Fifty years ago Mr. Francis Ellis of Madras brought to the notice of this Society the existence of a modern imitation of the Yajur Veda prepared by some Jesuit Missionaries of the last century with a view to establish, by Vedic evidence, the divinity of Jesus Christ and the authenticity of the Bible. The attempt was characterised by Mr. Ellis as a "religious imposition without a parallel." From a manuscript which I have lately received from Bábu Harischandra of Benares,\* it appears, however, that a courtier of the Emperor Akbar had, a century before, anticipated the Jesuits, and attempted to impose upon the Hindu public in the same way by producing an apocryphal chapter of the Atharva Veda, designed to establish the superiority of the religion of his master, and to enlist on its behalf the attachment of his Hindu subjects.

The forgeries were, in either case, very clumsy, but the Jesuits, having selected the Yajur Veda, every chapter of which is well known, and has very precise and authentic commentaries, laid themselves open to easy detection, and failed to give currency to their work; whereas the Muhammadan, by selecting the Atharva Veda, of which a complete MS. was nowhere available, which was not religiously studied, and the extent of which, from the absence of commentaries, was undefined, avoided such a contingency. It is possible that an Atharva school of Pippaláda to which the latter appealed, did once exist, but there is no mention of it in the Charaṇavyúha, nor is there any text of that school extant. It might have been among the now lost S'ákhás, and if so, in appealing to it, the author invoked an authority which none could consult, and adopted a course, the futility of which has been very cuttingly condemned in the Tantravártika, where it is said, "If a man maintain

<sup>\*</sup> In Dr. Bühler's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. from Guzerat (p. 44), I notice the existence of a MS. of this Upanishad in the possession of Krishnaráv Bhimásañkar of Vadodará.

a lost tradition to have been a source, he may prove whatever he pleases, for it is like appealing to a dead witness," (mritasákskika-vyavaháravachcha pralínas'ákhámúla Tva-kalpanáyám yasmai yadrochate sa tat pramání kuryát). The risk of detection and exposure in such a course is, however, reduced to a minimum, and hence it has been adopted very frequently by mediæval and even modern Indian authors to establish the authenticity of particular opinions and dogmas, and even of entire works. The innumerable Tantras and Upa Puránas, which are now met with, owe their names solely to this cause, and the Pippaláda sákhá itself has been appealed to more than once for that purpose. Two or three centuries before the Muhammadan forger, a pious Vaishnava attributed to that school a composition on the divinity of the youthful Gopála, the Gopála Tápaní, which found in so distinguished a scholar as Jíva Gos'vámí a commentator; and several other apocryphal Upanishads are likewise affiliated to the same parentage. Manifest, however, as the spurious character of such attempts is to the literary critic, their success among Indian sectaries has been generally very great. In the case of the Muhammadan forger it was complete, and many otherwise sensible and well-read people were entirely misled by it. The late Sir Rájá Rádhákánta Bahádur was so far taken in as to introduce into his great lexicon the word Allah, as a Sanskrit vocable, and to quote this spurious work for his authority. Even now many pandits admit its authenticity, and are prepared to subscribe to the tenets inculcated in it, believing that it is only Vedantism in an obscure shape, due to the mystic character of the Veda from which it proceeds.

The MS. of the Allah Upanishad is, even for an Upanishad which class of works are generally short, of very limited extent, comprising only two pages of 6 lines each. The language is obscure, apparently so made with a view to imitate the Vedic style; but the imitation is neither happy, nor grammatically correct. Vedic words are freely used, but without any appreciation of their original import, and their relation to each other is but ill-governed by the rules of Pánini. A plural verb has been twice used for a singular nominative, and the adjectives do not always correspond with their nouns. The collocation is throughout so defective that it is diffi-

I have shown the MS. declare it to be in a corrupt Sanskrit, unintelligible to them. I have myself had the greatest difficulty in guessing at the meaning, and only succeeded in doing so, by following the same plan which is adopted in decyphering ancient inscriptions. That I have been throughout successful in coming to the meaning which the author attached to his sentences, I cannot venture to affirm; but the matter is of so little import that mistakes on my part are not likely to lead to any material consequence.

The work opens in the usual Hindu style, with a salutation to Ganes'a, and the invocation of the mystic Om; but it has no s'anti mantra or benediction of any kind. This is remarkable, as there is no Upanishad that I am aware of (and I have examined nearly a hundred of them, both authentic and apocryphal,) which has not its appropriate s'anti, introduced both at the beginning and the end. It is probable, however, that the author of the Allah Upanishad, though doubtless familiar with some of the authentic Upanishads, was not aware of, or did not notice, the constancy of the s'anti in that class of compositions, and hence the omission; or perhaps he accepted the Om, as sufficient for the purpose, and did not think a more amplified version of it necessary, and this is very likely, as he must have noticed that Vedic compositions other than Upanishads begin with Om only, without any other s'anti.

The object of the work is to identify Allah with the gods of the Vedas, and to establish his pre-eminence. Accordingly the author starts by saying that he who sustains all things and is the bestower of blessings is Allah, and he is the same with Mitra and Varuṇa. He is the God of gods, and manifest in his own light. He is likewise the great god Indra, and the ultimate object which the devout seek by their sacrifices. Warming up by these assertions, the author next describes him as "the eldest, the greatest, the noblest, the perfect, and even Brahma himself." This Allah, however, is not the deity whom the prophet Muhammad of Mecca glorified, but he whom Akbar so adored. The anxiety displayed in making the distinction is worthy of note, and shows clearly the object with which the work was got up. Akbar is described as a messenger of God, but, either owing to the difficulty of introducing

the Arabic article al in a Sanskrit composition, or, what is more probable, with a view not to hurt the feelings of the faithful too offensively, he has made him to appear as "a prophet"-rasúl, and not al-rasúl "the prophet." The same consideration, however, did not govern the writer in writing of the Hindu gods, and so he is more positive in making the Allah of his patron supersede the Hindu trinity of Brahmá, Vishnu and S'iva, and assume to himself their functions of creation, preservation and destruction. According to the Hindu scriptures, the deity, before the creation of the universe, floated on the waters of a universal ocean, or was the same as water, and the author borrows the idea and calls Allah "water;" he is the lord of sacrifices; the receiver of all sacrificial offerings; and the source of the heavenly glory of the Hindu sages: unperceived even by Indra, from him proceeded Máyá, the heaven, and the rest of the universe in succession. Near the conclusion, the Arabic phrases Alláhu Akbar, Allah ilillah have been very adroitly introduced as "the identity of the uncreate God." The first phrase has also been repeated, as is usually done in the Azán, or Muhammadan call to prayer. Then follows a formula in which the Tantric mystic syllables Hrum, hriñ, and phat are worked in the form of a prayer for the preservation of all animated beings; and the work concludes by reiterating the maxim that the Allah of the prophet Muhammad Akbar is the God of all gods, and the creed Lá iláha illallah corrupted into illalleti illallah.

The distinction between Allah, the supreme being, and illáh from illát the name of an old Arabian idol, whence idols or gods has been generally borne in mind. The former is written with an initial  $\Im = a$ , and declined as a word of the masculine gender with a short vowel ending, the final h being changed into the Sanskrit aspirate visarga. The latter is written with an initial  $\Im = i$ , and treated as a word of the feminine gender, ending in  $\Im = \acute{a}$ ; but the distinction not having been always carefully observed, the text has, in many places, become quite obscure, and in the first line I have been obliged to analyse a word in search of a Sanskrit root to deduce a consistent meaning. Sir Rájá Rádhákánta Bahádur, accepting the text to be genuine, took the feminine illáh to mean the energy of the Godhead, i. e., Máyá, and his guess has the support

of a line at the end of the MS. where a female divinity, the destroyer of demons, Asurasanháriní, who is doubtless no other than the goddess Kálí, is invoked. The text of the Rájá, however, is corrupt, and in parts utterly unintelligible to me.

The use of the mystic syllables hrum, hrin and phat indicates a desire to subject the mysticism of the Tantras to the supremacy of the Allah of Muhammad Akbar, so as not to let the followers of that system escape, or in other words to make the whole of the Hindu community bow to the religion of the new prophet. The syllables, as already shown in my paper on certain inscriptions from the Chusan Archipelago (ante, vol. xxiv, p. 325), are parts of the vija-mantras of the different manifestations of Durgá.

The use of Akbar's name in the MS. leaves no doubt of its having been got up in the time of that emperor by one of his courtiers, to give currency to his new faith among his Hindu subjects, but who he was it is impossible now to determine. is impossible, likewise, to ascertain whether it was done at the instigation, or with the knowledge, of the emperor, or whether he too was deluded by a Vedic prophecy of the superiority of his doctrine. It it said in the Ain i Akbari that Badaoni, the author of the Muntakhab ut-tawárikh, was a great Sanskrit scholar, and was employed by Akbar in translating the Atharvan Veda into Persian; but as he was a devout Muhammadan who looked with horror upon the new faith of his master, and freely stigmatized it in his history of Akbar's reign, it is not at all likely that he would be guilty of calling Akbar a prophet, and Allah the God of Muhammad Akbar, and not that of the Arabian prophet, unless we believe it was done with a view to ridicule the religion of Akbar, which is scarcely probable. A writer in the Oudh Akhbár, a Hindustání newspaper of Lucknow, says it is the work of the KhánKhánán or Lord Chamberlain of Akbar, but as there were several such officers during the long and prosperous reign of that monarch, it is not possible to ascertain which of them was the author of this gross religious imposition.

## ऋसोपनिषद्—।

श्रीगणेषाय नमः ॥ ॐ असाल्लां इल्ली \* मिचावरणा † दियानि धत्ते ॥ इल्लो ‡ वर्णो राजा पुनर्दुः ॥ इयामि मिचो इल्लां ॥
इल्ले इल्लां वर्णो मिचो तेल्यासः ॥ होवारमिन्द्रो होतारमिन्द्रो महासरेन्द्रः ॥ अल्लो जेलं श्रेष्ठं परमं पूर्ण ब्रह्माणं अल्लां ॥ अल्लोरसल महमदरववरस्थ श्र अल्लो अल्लां ॥ अदलावुकमेनकं \*\* ॥ अल्लावुकं † †। निषातकं अल्लो यन्त्रेन ज्ञतज्ञतः ॥ अल्लावुकं मदर्थनन्द्रसर्वनन्द्राः ॥ अल्लो इर्षिणां सर्व दिया ‡ इन्द्राय पूर्वं मायापरमं अन्तरिन्दाः ॥ अल्लो इर्षणां सर्व दिया ‡ इन्द्राय पूर्वं मायापरमं अन्तरिन्दाः ॥ अल्लो इर्णे पिया अन्तरिन्दां विश्वरूपं दियाः निधत्ते ॥ इल्ले वर्णो राजा पुनर्दुः ॥ इल्लां ॥ रक्तवरह्लां ॥ इल्लां रक्तवरह्लां । इल्ले वर्णो राजा पुनर्दुः ॥ इल्लां ॥ रक्तवरह्लां ॥ इल्लां रक्तवरह्लां । इल्ले क्र पाय † † अथर्वेण पाखां इं इर्णे । जनान पश्चन् सिंहान् जलचरान् अदर्थः ‡ ‡ कुर कुर पट् । असुर संहारिणों इं ॥ अल्लो रसल्ल महमदरकवरसल्ले इर्णे अल्ला रलेल्लेति ॥ ॥ इल्लाः ॥ इत्यथ्वेणे पिण्यली-पाखायां अल्लोपनिषद् संपूर्णम् विश्व ॥

## TRANSLATION.

Salutation to Ganes'a. Om! Allah, the bestower (of blessings) to

The following different readings are taken from Rájá Rádhákánta's S'abda-kalpadruma, Vol. VIII, p. 155.

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§§ द्वां छ।
* दुसे 1
ने वरुणे।
                               ||| द्साकवर।
‡ इस्रमेति इस्रासां।
                               ¶ इसम्रोत इसामाः।
                               *** द्वा द्वावाः।
§ तेजकामाः।
                               ††† अनादिखरूपा।
∥ महासुरेन्द्राः।
                               ‡‡‡ खहछं।
¶ रसुरमहमद्रकं वरस्य।
** चाद्ञावृक।
                               §§§ रसुरमहमद्रकं वरस्य असे। असां।
†† अलां व्कं।
                               ||||| द्वमित।
‡‡ मदिया।
                              ¶¶¶ द्रत्याथर्वणस्त्रत्तं।
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us is Mitra; he is Varuna; he sustains the things\* (of this world). Ilillah (the God) who is Varuna, who is the king, verily† gave‡ us (all). We attain that Illah who is Mitra. The God (ilillah) among gods (illán) is Mitra and Varuna. He is manifest (in his own) light. He is Indra of the — (?); he is the Indra of the hotás; he is the great god Indra. The God (Allah) of the gods (allan) is the eldest, the greatest, the noblest, the perfect, the Brahma. The God (allah) of the prophet Muhammad Akbar is the God, (allah) of the gods, (illáñ). O Allah! thou art the destroyer, the preserver, the only Brahma. Allah is water, and consequently he is every reservoir. Allah is the lord (ina) of the sacrifice (yajña), the sacrifice (hutva) of the sacrificer (hotá). Allah is the sun, the moon and all the stars. Allah is the heavenly glory\*\* of the sages (rishis). O thou unperceivablett even by Indra, (from the) celestially radianttt Allah first proceeded Máyá and then the sky and the rest.

He verily upholds the diverse forms of the earth§§ as well as the heavenly bodies.

Ilállah who is Varuna, who is the God verily gave us (all). God (Illah) the great, (Akbar), God (Illah) the great, (Akbar). He is even the God of all gods (illalleti-illám), Om! Alláh il alláh, the identity of the uncreate. Hrum and hriñ to the Atharva s'ákhá. Preserve, (O) preserve all men and cattle and lions and aquatic creatures unhurt. Phat, Hrum to the destroyeress of demons (asuras). The Allah of the prophet Muhammad Akbar is the God of gods. Illah, to the end ilillah.

End of the Alla Upanishad of the Pippalí s'ákhá of the Atharva Veda.

† Punar for verily.

† The verb is in the plural to indicate respect.

§ The verb is yámi, and the ha before it is an expletive.

| Illáñ is in the genitive plural.

<sup>\*</sup> The first word asmalláñ is evidently a compound of asma, we, la "to give," and, an interjection. Illeh is the nominative to the verb dhatte and in the same case with Mitra and Varuna, which are its counterparts.

<sup>¶</sup> The sentence is very puzzling; I take it to be a compound of at for ad to eat or destroyer, Alla; Ava to preserve changing to u, the verb being lengthened by conjunction with alla as in the word Akshauhini; u vocative, kam Brahma and ekakam "the solitary" single or one.

\*\* Dibyás == to divya heavenly and as' light.

<sup>††</sup> Indráya, from Indra, a negative, and ya to get.

<sup>11</sup> Antarikshah from antariksha and ás. §§ Prithivya = prithiví and á ñ, for certainty.